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                        UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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                    FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
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                           ALEXANDRIA DIVISION
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                                         Civil Action No. 1:19cv632
     SVETLANA LOKHOVA,
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                    Plaintiff,
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                                         Alexandria, Virginia
          vs.
                                         October 25, 2019
     STEFAN A. HALPER;
                                         10:00 a.m.
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     DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.;
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     THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY;
     WP COMPANY, LLC, d/b/a
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     Washington Post;
     NBCUNIVERSAL MEDIA, LLC,
     d/b/a MSNBC; and MALCOLM
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    NANCE,
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                    Defendants.
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                      TRANSCRIPT OF MOTIONS HEARING
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                 BEFORE THE HONORABLE LEONIE M. BRINKEMA
                       UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
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     APPEARANCES:
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     FOR THE PLAINTIFF:
                                    STEVEN S. BISS, ESQ.
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                      (APPEARANCES CONT'D. ON PAGE 2)
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                                (Pages 1 - 45)
25
             COMPUTERIZED TRANSCRIPTION OF STENOGRAPHIC NOTES
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1	<u>APPEARANCES</u> : (Cont'd.)	
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limitations for defamation cases? I believe everybody's agreeable, whether we're using Virginia law, District of Columbia law, or New York law, in all three jurisdictions, and those are the only three whose law would be relevant here, that it's a one-year statute of limitations.

Mr. Biss, I believe you agree with that.

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               MR. BISS: I do agree with that, Your Honor, yes.
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               THE COURT: All right. And I believe all the defense
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     have argued that.
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                              (Defense counsel nodding heads.)
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               THE COURT: All right, so that's it. Well, then it
     seems to me that that's the first issue that we have to be
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     talking about, and that is, all defendants have raised the
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     issue that with the exception of just three, arguably four
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     articles -- and I'm going to use the word "article" even though
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     I recognize that some of what we're talking about here are
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     tweets or some of the new type of electronic communications --
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     but what we're talking about here, it seems to me, are four
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     articles, that anything else that's referenced in the complaint
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     occurred outside of the one-year statute of limitations.
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               So, Mr. Biss, I think you have to address that issue
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     first.
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               MR. BISS: Your Honor, may it please the Court. I'm
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     Steve Biss. I represent the plaintiff, Svetlana Lokhova.
     Svetlana Lokhova is with me at counsel table.
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               Judge, the question here is republication.
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     Obviously, the articles were published on the dates as
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     represented in the complaint. The question here is were they
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     republished and when were they republished.
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               So I start with the standard of review, because I
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     think it's intertwined into this issue, because I think the
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question of what is a republication and when did it occur are essentially issues of fact. In paragraphs 5, 87, 98, 112, 122, 128, 158, 163, and 172 specifically, the plaintiff alleges that there was a republication within one year preceding the filing of this case.

We have cited in our briefs two cases and I want to talk about a third case that, that is cited in one or more of the defendants' cases. It's a case within a case, but I want to bring it to Your Honor's attention.

The two Virginia cases that talk about this issue of republication are one from the Eastern District of Virginia and one from the Western District of Virginia. The Eastern District case is the *Dragulescu* case that's cited -- and I hope I pronounced that right, but I think it's right, right enough -- the *Dragulescu* case, and that was a defamation case involving the republication of defamatory statements, and what the court held in that case is that each successive publication of an old or preexisting defamatory statement gives rise to a new cause of action under Virginia law, and that's a -- and I believe they cited to a Fourth Circuit opinion, and it's in our, in our briefs.

The other case is the Western District case, the case that is a case that was decided in 2016 and thereupon on summary judgment and thereafter tried to a verdict, it's the Eramo v. Rolling Stone case, and the -- what Judge Conrad held

in that particular case was that republication occurs when the original defamatory statement is affirmatively reiterated or redistributed to a new audience.

And so it's with those -- it's with those two cases and then, and then one other that was actually decided by the Eastern District here in the Alexandria Division, and I think it was Judge Ellis who decided it, it's a case that we also cite, it's Doe v. Roe, and Doe v. Roe stands for the proposition, and it says this exactly, that separate publications of the same defamatory content constitute republication, and there's a new -- the new statute of limitation accrues with each republication. So that that's the legal framework in Virginia.

So the defendants in their briefs have raised this issue of the hyperlinks, and it's a -- it's an issue that I could not find any federal or state precedent in Virginia to address this. There are cases from New York. There are cases that I'm aware of from the Western District of Kentucky and other jurisdictions, Pennsylvania. There's a Third Circuit case that the defendants cite that talk about the hyperlinks.

Now, we have alleged in the complaint -- and my first point is we have alleged republication, and I, and I submit to Your Honor that is sufficient -- in alleging a defamation case, that's sufficient to take it past the 12(b)(6) stage, because the question then arises what was republished. It's a factual

issue as to what it was that was republished within the one year. Was it simply a hyperlink, or was it a hyperlink plus content?

In the, in the defendants' cases, there's a case they cite of the Biro v. Condé Nast case, and in Biro v. Condé Nast, there's a discussion of whether or not the, the simple republication of a hyperlink is sufficient, and in Biro, they said it wasn't sufficient, but in Biro, they cite to a case called Enigma Software, and that's at 194 F.Supp.3rd 263, and it's a Southern District of New York case from 2016, and in that case, the Southern District of New York very clearly and emphatically pointed out that where, where there's a tweet that includes the plaintiff's name and additional -- republishes additional content from the prior publication, that is sufficient to constitute a, a republication.

I submit to Your Honor I don't think the Court can resolve these factual issues as to what was included in, in the tweets, what was a part of the republication, whether it included content or whether it didn't include content. I submit those are factual issues. They could be raised and might be raised on summary judgment, but they might not be raised on summary judgment.

At this stage, the plaintiff has to allege a republication, and I know from looking at multiple of the tweets that were, were made in the last -- within the last

year, that content was certainly republished, content such as Ms. Lokhova compromised General Flynn, Ms. Lokhova is a, is a Russian intelligence official.

THE COURT: Well, why should the law, though, given the nature of the way in which people are communicating these days, why should the law not be that the tweeter be the one held liable? Because the danger, and this has been recognized, you know, in cases, is that to the extent that one accepted your argument that every time somebody tweets a prior article, that somehow that changes the statute of limitations, you'd essentially have no rational statute of limitations any longer.

So there has to be some rule of reason that would actually temper the approach that you're taking.

MR. BISS: Judge, I understand -- I fully understand that. On the other side of that equation, though, is a counterbalancing interest of protecting the reputation of the person who has been defamed.

So today, as Your Honor correctly pointed out, we live in a different time. Now you can hit a button on your phone or on a computer, and you can send a defamatory message to 30,000 people, and then they in an instant can resend it to a million or more people.

And so I think the counterbalancing interest here is, is outweighed by protecting the -- in this modern age, by protecting the rights of the individual, the liberty interest

- of the individual in their name and reputation by holding the original defamer liable for interjecting the message, the defamatory post, if you will, into the stream of commerce, because once it gets into the stream of commerce, then these devices allow anybody to republish it, to over and over and over.
- The, the -- in the, in the case of Adelson v. Harris, this was a case involving a hyperlink, this is a case that was referred to in one of the cases, it's Adelson v. Harris at 973 F.Supp.2d 467, this is a Southern District of New York case, and it was a question of a hyperlink. It was a hyperlink in an article, and the question was what is a hyperlink, and that, that got me looking at the case, and in the Adelson case, they defined a hyperlink as the 21st Century equivalent of a footnote. That's what they defined a hyperlink as.

And if that's the case, then publishing the hyperlink is essentially directing the, the -- is essentially republishing the defamatory statement in the form of a footnote.

The SEC, the Securities and Exchange Commission, in Release No. 33-7233, this is also cited in *Adelson*, said that providing hyperlinks on an online offering is akin to including the contents of the second cite in the same envelope as the prospectus, and, Judge, from the plaintiff's perspective in this case, including -- for a third party to include those

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hyperlinks is essentially a republication of the same defamatory material, because the hyperlink serves as the -- as essentially the equivalent of a footnote according to the, the Adelson case at page 484. And it happens --THE COURT: I'm sorry, but then under that theory, the third party who does that might be liable. MR. BISS: And there's no --THE COURT: And, I'm sorry, within the evidence that's in this record, as I understand it, there's only -- only The New York Times has one article that would have been hyperlinked that might be within the statute of limitations if the Court accepted your theory, but that doesn't save, for example, The Wall Street Journal, which I don't believe there are any of their articles where they themselves then hyperlinked to a prior article. MR. BISS: Judge, the, the -- The Wall Street Journal article was, was hyperlinked -- and I just -- for purposes of preparing today's argument, I took three examples from the allegations in the complaint of publications -- of hyperlinked publications by third parties within the, within the one-year statute of limitations. THE COURT: Yeah, but that's third parties, and if

you're looking at a hyperlink as a footnote, then that third party published that footnote, and it seems to me that there

- The Wall Street Journal would not be liable. If The Wall Street Journal itself hyperlinked to its own article, it seems to me that there might be then, might be then a basis to find that that article had been dragged into the statute of -- within the statute of limitations.
- But even Weaver recognized, and that's the seminal case that I think you really based your initial argument on, which is a Virginia Supreme Court case from, what, 1950, before the internet, I think, was even invented, and so obviously didn't have any concept of the new way in which people communicate and disseminate information, but even that case did draw some distinction between republication by the original person or by third parties, and I think that's a line that has to be carefully considered.
- MR. BISS: I, I agree with that, but I think that the, the end result is exactly the same. So if the original defamer republishes, that's a -- that's a republication for which the original defamer is liable, but by the same token, under Weaver, the original defamer is liable for a republication by third parties under the common law, and Weaver stands for that proposition, and it was a 1957 case, but it was cited with -- it was cited with authority by the Eastern District of Virginia, I believe, in Dragulescu, and it is -- it's the, it's the law as far as I can tell up until this day. Without any question, it's the law in, in Virginia.

So in the, in the content -- in the context of -- in the context of modern business, it also makes sense to recognize that a hyperlink is a republication, because a lot of these internet companies, take Twitter, for example, Twitter will publish terms of service, and it will, it will publish a -- it will link those terms of service with a hyperlink. So when you set up an account with Twitter, you have to click on the hyperlink in order to -- they don't publish the terms of service, but they're just -- it's just a hyperlink which you're obligated to click on if you, if you want to click on it, but if you don't click on it, you're still bound by it.

My point is that in modern business, we also

My point is that in modern business, we also recognize that the hyperlink serves a useful purpose, and that is, it constitutes a publication of facts succinctly by means of a -- by means of a, of a bridge or by means of an electronic, what they, what they described in the Adelson case as highlighted text or image that permits a reader to view another document. That's how they, they identified and defined a hyperlink.

But in terms of modern business, we treat it as a publication that, that allows, facilitates now, facilitates the much more economical presentation of material.

In our case, we've alleged republication. It's a factual issue as to what these tweets that are in the amended -- in the amended complaint say, whether they include

1 | simply hyperlinks or whether they include hyperlinks and more.

And, Judge, I think that's a factual issue that takes it beyond the 12(b)(6) stage.

THE COURT: All right. Let me hear then from defense counsel as to the issue of republication. And because there are so many of you, I'm going to ask you once again to reidentify yourselves and which party you represent.

MR. BERLIN: Good morning, Your Honor. I'm Seth Berlin, appearing on behalf of Dow Jones Wall Street Journal. Let me see if I can try and unravel a little bit of what Mr. Biss is saying. To start, Your Honor is correct that the original Wall Street Journal article that it published was two years and two months before the complaint was filed, and so claims premised on that article are clearly barred by the statute of limitation, and I understand Mr. Biss to be saying he agrees with that.

What we're talking about is in the case of *The Wall Street Journal*, four tweets that are identified in paragraph 112 of the complaint that are indisputably published by somebody else, not *The Wall Street Journal*, and include a hyperlink, okay?

That is not the subject of a defamation action for three reasons: Number one, that's not publication, right? A hyperlink is not publication. The cases are uniform in this. There's a -- there are both Third Circuit and Sixth Circuit

cases that collect a mass of authority.

In the Adelson case which Mr. Biss references, which was conveniently for me my case, the reference to the 21st equivalent of a footnote is exactly that. If, if The Wall Street Journal published an article and someone later cited to that article in a footnote in a book, that is not a republication of The Wall Street Journal either for the author of that book and especially not for The Wall Street Journal, and if that's the analogy, that's essentially what a hyperlink does in modern -- a modern America. That's what Judge Oetken in a very thoughtful opinion discussing it at length came to the conclusion in the Adelson case.

So that's not a publication, number one. So the first thing you would need for a defamation claim within the statute of limitations is publication, and you don't have that.

Here you have a second thing, which is that if you look at those four tweets that are identified, none of them is themselves published within the one year prior to the filing of the complaint. So even if that constituted publication, it's not publication within one year of the filing of the complaint, regardless of what they said, right?

And in that regard, I should add that Mr. Biss says it's a factual issue with what else got published with the hyperlink, right? Well, first of all, that's pled in the complaint, so that's something that we can do based on the

pleadings; but second, somebody else's additional comments are not chargeable to *The Wall Street Journal*. The only thing that's chargeable potentially to *The Wall Street Journal* is what it published and somebody republished.

So what's really going on here is Mr. Biss is relying on the principal that's articulated in that 1957 case of Weaver to say somehow, even though The Wall Street Journal didn't publish it, it's not publication and it's not within the year, The Wall Street Journal somehow is still responsible for that because it was the natural and probable consequence of the original publication that somebody would retweet that, and that is barred by the single publication rule, which basically tweets the date of publication for a mass media publication as the first date on which it's made available to the public, which in this case is two years and two months prior to the filing of the complaint and is similarly true, I believe, for the other -- the defendants that Your Honor alluded to. So under the single publication rule, there would be no claim.

And what Mr. Biss is essentially arguing, as I understand it, is that somehow the Weaver approach is an exception to the single publication rule, but that's not true even under Weaver itself, because Weaver involved a letter that was written by a lender, the defendant, to the Navy, right, and isn't involving a mass media publication, and it expressly says, hey, there's different rules for mass media publications,

and it cites another case from in that case the Third Circuit that recognized the single publication rule, and it then went on to say that the publisher of a newspaper or magazine is not responsible for the acts of third persons who after the original publication sell or distribute copies of the newspaper or magazine to others.

That's exactly what we're talking about here, albeit in the context not of the internet but in print publication.

The cases that Mr. Biss references actually support this position. So if you look at the *Dragulescu* case, which is, I believe, Judge Payne's decision from the Richmond Division, Judge Payne -- and that's a case again about a non-mass media publication, and he says: Even applying it in that context, the single publication followed by successive or additional readings of the publication gives rise to only one cause of action. This single publication rule applies when subsequent audiences read the same original (and allegedly defamatory) document, and is accepted by the majority of states and Virginia.

It then takes up Weaver, right? So the plaintiff in that case, like Mr. Biss said, well, what about Weaver? And the, the plaintiff argues that -- this natural and probable consequence argument, and it says: Dragulescu argues that this principle saves her defamation claim.

It does not, and it goes on to explain that even in

that case, that is not sufficient to overcome the premise of the single publication rule.

The same is true in *Doe v. Roe*, where the court -- let me flip my page here -- the court again invokes the single publication rule.

And so what we have here, Your Honor, is we have no case that I'm aware of in which a mass media publication is subject to Weaver, and we have a number of cases involving individual non-mass media publications where judges of this Court are applying the single publication rule. Katz v. Odin is another one that Judge Ellis decided, and it's cited in the parties' papers where that's the case.

And so given all of that, Your Honor, there is no -there is no publication that occurs within the one-year statute
of limitations that would allow a claim to proceed.

And let me just say one last thing, if I could, about Weaver, Your Honor. In that case, as I mentioned, it was a letter written to the Navy, and one of the things that was specific to that case was that the letter went on to say: We feel that if someone in a supervisory position will explain Mr. Weaver's liabilities and the possible effects of them, he will be induced to bring his account to date and pay promptly thereafter. They were trying to collect a debt, right?

So the court found in that unique set of circumstances that a jury could conclude from that statement

- that appellees were requesting that the letter be republished to his supervisors, right? We're writing a letter saying: Please pass this along to his supervisors so they'll talk to
- 4 him.
- And in those circumstances, when they then go and pass it along to his circumstances (sic), that is held to be the natural and probable consequence of writing such a letter in that one case.
  - But in the case of a newspaper or a magazine or book, any other mass media publication, if it were the case that simply by virtue of publishing it, you expected that it would be circulated, that would swallow both the single publication case and the one-year statute of limitations, and no court has so held.
- THE COURT: All right.

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- MR. BERLIN: Unless Your Honor has any questions,

  I'll sit down.
- THE COURT: Are there any other defense attorneys who
  want to address the statute of limitations issue on behalf of
  their clients?
- 21 MS. GREEN: Your Honor, Dana Green on behalf of *The*22 New York Times.
- THE COURT: Yes, ma'am.
- MS. GREEN: We agree with all the points that
- 25 Mr. Berlin has raised on behalf of his client. As Your Honor

noted, The New York Times is in a somewhat different position from Dow Jones in the sense that there is at least one pleaded retweet that is within the statute of limitations. For the reasons that Mr. Berlin just articulated, however, we do not believe that that can as a matter of law be deemed to be a republication of The New York Times article.

The Times article, as Your Honor knows, was published more than a year before the complaint was filed. Mr. Biss has argued that there are questions of fact around whether or not it was republished. Our position would be that republication is a question of law; and the facts around how this article was tweeted or published are not in dispute; they're in the complaint; and that there's no reason why this can't be resolved on a motion to dismiss.

There's no allegation in the complaint that *The Times* itself retweeted or republished this during the statute of limitations. The sole allegation is that a journalist for *The Daily Caller* posted a tweet hyperlinking to *The New York Times* article and making a very brief comment about it.

I think that the -- there are two barriers to treating that as a republication. The first is the hyperlink issue, which we've just discussed, but even setting aside that technological issue, the result would be the same if that journalist from *The Daily Caller* had, for example, printed out *The New York Times* article and handed it out to his friends or

1 posted it online.

The, the Weaver case creates a very narrow exception that in special circumstances can allow a third party to essentially create liability for the publisher, but the facts from Weaver and all of the cases that have subsequently applied it are highly distinguishable from the circumstances here, where there has to be some deliberate intent, some, some clear expectation by the initial publisher that they are transmitting it to a third party who will then republish it.

And here, Mr. Biss's position seems to be the only thing that would bring *The New York Times*'s article within the *Weaver* exception is that it is a national news publication. There's no other distinguishing feature here, and if that were adopted, essentially every national news article would have perpetual liability because they are frequently commented on or distributed or retweeted.

Mr. Biss seems to argue that now technology means that we should rethink that single publication rule, but the whole purpose of the single publication rule, the reason it was developed -- and we discussed this in our reply, and I would direct Your Honor to the *Gregoire* case from New York that has a very interesting historical discussion of the origins of the single publication rule. The whole idea behind that was that in an era of mass media, we, we must -- to make the statute of limitations effective, we cannot impose liability on publishers

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for third-party distribution and selling and footnoting and other distribution of a publication. Otherwise, the single publication rule would have no meaning.
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So in contrasting Mr. Biss's position, I would say the development of new technology, the fact that retweets are happening is very much in favor of finding that there is no republication here, that the whole purpose of the single publication rule is to prevent perpetual liability for mass media such as *The Times* and the other defendants.

THE COURT: All right, thank you.

MS. HANDMAN: Your Honor, Laura Handman, Davis Wright Tremaine, on behalf of NBCUniversal Media and WP Company, publisher of *The Washington Post*. I'll be extremely brief.

The Washington Post article that's in suit is within the statute of limitations. We don't disagree that that is within the statute.

And there are two tweets by -- from the personal account of Malcolm Nance which are alleged -- he is a contributor for NBC/MSNBC -- two July 2018 tweets that we don't say the statute of limitations bars, but there are tweets from 2017 that are barred, and in the amended complaint, plaintiff added a broadcast of -- Rachel Maddow broadcast of May 18, 2018, and the 11th Hour broadcast of May 18, 2018. That's more than a year before plaintiff filed his complaint.

And notably, unlike these others, there's no

allegation of retweeting. Mr. Biss, when he recited the paragraphs of the complaint, he stopped right at the point where republication was alleged, he stopped right at the point where there's discussion of the NBC liability, and there are no allegations of retweets within the statute of limitations as to any of those more-than-one-year broadcasts in tweets.

THE COURT: All right, thank you.

MR. REED: Good morning, Your Honor. Terry Reed on behalf of the defendant Stefan Halper. First, I would endorse the comments of other defense counsel on the statute of limitations issues, and I'll just briefly add one point.

This Court was looking for some rule of reason with respect to application of the republication doctrine, and fortunately, there is such a rule of reason. It's in the original 1957 case, the Weaver case, and that is, for the republication to start a new claim or a new statute of limitations, the original publisher has to in some way authorize or participate in the, in the republication.

Here, what the, what the plaintiff is attempting to say is that simply if you have a publication and then someone else uses the internet to talk about that subject matter, that that is a republication.

That is a -- that is a completely independent publication by a third party, and therefore, as the Court points out, that is the third party's responsibility, not the

original publisher.

And if ever there was a technological entity where that should apply, it would be the internet because no one has control over what someone else says over the internet. By definition -- I mean, it might be possible to organize the campaign, but that's not what's being alleged here, and more importantly, that's not what's in the, in the complaint.

Mr. Biss talks about the pleading. There's no pleading here that Mr. Halper had any involvement in any of these internet publications or tweets or anything like that. So to the extent that he wants to put the republication doctrine to work, to turn the internet into the Fountain of Youth for defamation claims, he hasn't even pled the necessary facts to make that argument.

THE COURT: All right.

MR. REED: Thank you.

THE COURT: Well, the other issue, assuming that the Court were to find -- and we do have *The Washington Post*, the two Nance articles, and possibly the one *New York Times* article within the statute of limitations. Then the second line of arguments that has been made is that the articles at issue are themselves not defamatory and that the Court has to make that decision. That's a question of law.

And so, Mr. Biss, again, I'll let you respond to those arguments. And again, we're confining ourselves at this

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point for the sake of discussion to just the ones that are within the statute of limitations.
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MR. BISS: Yes, Your Honor. Just very, very briefly on the MSNBC, there's one other publication that is within the statute of limitations. It's in a December 18, 2018 broadcast. There's a link to the YouTube video. I believe it's in paragraph 173. I just wanted to bring Your Honor's attention just for completeness of the record on MSNBC.

And it's a statement that's attributable, made during the broadcast. It was an MSNBC interview with Ari Melber in which Mr. Nance states: "within the intelligence community, the thought was that he" -- referring to General Flynn -- "may have been a turned agent to Russian intelligence," and it's -- that's within the one-year statute of limitations.

THE COURT: Yeah, but as you know, I mean, look, we're not going to get -- this case is not about Mr. Flynn.

This case is about your client, and there's no question that anybody who's reading these articles fairly, without any kind of, you know, bias or orientation, would say these -- if it were asked of, like, a high school student: Read this article and tell us what the point of the article is, every one of them is focusing on Flynn.

You may have used it in your papers or your client may have used it in one of her comments in that BBC interview, I'm not sure, but wherever it was, I believe somewhere in the

- 1 papers, there's a reference to the fact that the plaintiff was,
- 2 | if anything, sort of collateral -- was collateral damage. I
- 3 | think that's the only appropriate way of looking at these
- 4 articles.
- I mean, these articles were focusing on, on Flynn.
- 6 And many of the articles, although they do reference this
- 7 | meeting at Cambridge, they are also pointing to other -- many
- 8 other activities by Flynn with Russian authorities. I mean, he
- 9 had dinner with Putin and all that sort of stuff.
- The other thing is that simply, you know, a real
- 11 legitimate issue is that anybody in the position that Flynn had
- 12 as the director of the DIA knows that the normal protocol is if
- 13 | you have any contact with a foreign national, especially a
- 14 foreign national of a country with whom the United States has
- 15 strained relations, that's supposed to be reported, and that's
- 16 discussed in some of these articles.
- Now, there's a dispute as to whether, you know,
- 18 meeting somebody at a dinner is enough of a contact, but it is
- 19 | interesting, you mentioned -- it's mentioned in the papers, and
- 20 | I don't think it's being contested, that there was a 20-minute
- 21 interaction between your client and Mr. Flynn, and we've been
- 22 | in court now 40 minutes, so about half of the time we've been
- 23 | in court, and we've done a lot, in just half of the time,
- 24 that's a fairly long interaction. Now, there were other people
- 25 present. That's fine.

All I'm saying is that if you read these articles and you read them in totality, it's clear that your client in many of them isn't even mentioned by name, and that what is discussed is either opinion, that is, two people were concerned about this, or are actually factually correct.

The only real inaccuracies that I can see from here are the inaccuracy that your client actually approached Flynn.

That does not appear to be the case. But that is such a benign statement by itself, that doesn't say anything.

So I think you really have an uphill battle on showing the Court that any of the comments that are within the statute of limitations would qualify as defamation. So I'll give you a few minutes to address that.

MR. BISS: Judge, the, the question is what is the gist of the articles, and as the Court knows, you have to look at everything that's written in the articles.

THE COURT: Well, wait. If you're talking about the gist of the article, I just said I think that any, any fair reader of the English language who looked at this would say it's Flynn and it's whether or not he has been compromised because of his connections to Russia. I mean, I think that's the clear view.

MR. BISS: But within the context of my client, which is what these articles are about --

THE COURT: No, your client -- the articles are not

- 1 about your client. They're about Flynn, and your client is
- 2 peripheral, the same way Andrews is a peripheral. There are
- 3 other people who are named in these articles who are
- 4 peripherally involved in the overall story, but the story
- 5 focuses on Flynn.
- 6 MR. BISS: Judge, the overall narrative -- I think I
- 7 agree with Your Honor to the extent that the overall narrative
- 8 here is that there was collusion between Flynn and the
- 9 Russians, and the Russians in this case is my client. That's
- 10 | the Russian who is accused of colluding with Flynn.
- 11 The statements that are made here are, are -- the
- 12 | articles are laden with, with facts. For instance, there,
- 13 | there is reference to Ms. Lokhova as being a foreign stranger
- 14 in The New York Times article. There is reference to her
- 15 | working for a Russian state-controlled bank.
- The impression that the authors of the articles want
- 17 | to give to the reader is that Ms. Lokhova was either a Russian
- 18 official, which she wasn't, which is false, or that she was
- 19 | part of Russian intelligence, which she wasn't, which is false,
- 20 and that she got so close to Flynn that it alarmed or it caused
- 21 reports to be made, as they said in both The Wall Street
- 22 | Journal article and The New York Times article, reports made to
- 23 | the U.S. intelligence which were not made to the U.S.
- 24 intelligence community.
- There was no closeness. We've alleged why there was

no closeness. We've also alleged that in the -- we've also alleged facts which would show that the whole idea of there being any alarm or any concern of any kind relating to this February dinner, which is the -- which is the event, this February dinner, is obviously untrue because she continued to have interaction in the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar with American intelligence officials. They continued to allow her to be intimately involved in, in publishing papers, and no one raised any concerns whatsoever about it.

But these articles paint the, the picture that she was acting as a Russian agent or, as they say, a Russian intelligence official or a Russian official, and that she approached General Flynn with the -- that she sat next to him, she approached him, and that the, the gist is that she did it for the purpose of compromising him, and that's what is so defamatory about this is their portrayal of her acting on behalf of the Russian government or being a Russian intelligence officer, getting close to Flynn and compromising him.

The overall narrative here is that, that, that -- the narrative that they painted was that Flynn was compromised by a Russian, and that's, that's the connection that's made to my client. That's the, the connection here. There's other -- and I think that, that theme flows through each of the, each of the articles.

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But, Judge, when you look at all the words that were, were used, The New York Times article refers to anomalous behavior. It identifies her as being an employee of a Russian-controlled state bank. It says that the contact -suggests that the contact was the subject of an FBI wide-ranging counterintelligence probe into contacts that the Trump campaign personnel may have had with Russian officials. It portrays her as being something other than what she was, which was just an academic. And she went to a dinner that she was invited to go to, there's no -- there's nothing in the articles that would put any, any real truthful context in in terms of why she was there at that dinner. She's invited to that dinner, and it was all pre-reported, as we allege, to the DIA, to Flynn's -- who Flynn worked for, who Flynn directed. This was all pre-reported. There's no secrecy in here. So when they, when they state in here that there was anomalous behavior, that it came to the attention of U.S. intelligence, in The New York Times article where they say that the concern was, was strong enough that it prompted a person to pass on a warning to American authorities that Flynn could be compromised by Russian intelligence, she's not Russian intelligence. Nothing happened at that dinner. The, the statements

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that it carries a defamatory meaning.
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Because the implication, Judge, is clear that she did something at this dinner. And yes, she had, as you pointed out, there was a 20-minute conversation. It was, it was in front of everybody. Everybody was -- it was like a cocktail conversation after dinner. That's, that's what the conversation was.

And so that -- how that gets spun into that she's -- she could have compromised him is, is -- that shows that it's defamatory. You could not possibly take from the fact that they had a 20-minute public conversation, you couldn't possibly derive from that the idea that she had done something to compromise her -- to compromise General Flynn.

And again, she's the plaintiff in this case, not General Flynn. She's the plaintiff, but it is her -- it's the fact that she is consistently and continually associated with this idea that he's been compromised and that she's the one who has done it, that's, that's what is defamatory about this, because the 20 minutes was it.

THE COURT: All right, thank you.

MR. BISS: Thank you.

THE COURT: All right, who wants to start the

23 defense?

MS. HANDMAN: Yes, Your Honor, thank you. You are totally correct, Your Honor, that the focus of *The Washington* 

- 1 Post article was indeed Flynn. The actual sentence is:
- 2 | "During a dinner Flynn attended, Halper and Dearlove" --
- 3 | another academic -- "were disconcerted by the attention the
- 4 | then-DIA chief showed to a Russian-born graduate student who
- 5 regularly attended the seminars, according to people familiar
- 6 | with the episode."
- 7 Nowhere does it say or suggest that she did any
- 8 activity whatsoever. They were concerned about his conduct,
- 9 his attention to her. Nowhere does it say that she did
- 10 anything wrong and that they were concerned about it.
- Indeed, the fact that she says Mr. Dearlove went on
- 12 to continue with her at Cambridge exactly is the point. We
- 13 | didn't say Mr. Dearlove was disconcerted by her conduct. We
- 14 said she was disconcerted by the attention Flynn paid to her.
- 15 That's consistent with his continuing to respect her, and we
- 16 didn't say otherwise.
- We did not say that this was reported to the
- 18 authorities. We did not say she worked for a Russian-owned
- 19 | bank. We simply called her a Russian-born grad student, which
- 20 is 100 percent true. We didn't even name her. It's a question
- of whether it's even of and concerning her.
- 22 The Post has never written about her except in July
- of this year, when Congressman Nunes, a client of Mr. Biss's,
- 24 referred to her during the Mueller testimony.
- This is not someone that has been on The Post radar,

and indeed, the article really was about Stefan Halper. This was a very, you know, one line basically in this story.

So -- and the word "disconcerted" itself is of subjective opinion. It is a subjective viewpoint, as the case that -- Hyland that Mr. Biss cites, and that is opinion because it can't be proven true or false whether they were disconcerted or not.

Nor does it -- she says that, well, it was false because Halper wasn't at the dinner. Well, whether or not he was at the dinner, he definitely was part of the seminar that Flynn attended, and he could have heard about what went on and been disconcerted, and indeed, the whole premise of the lawsuit is that Halper is spreading his concerns about her to everybody. That's what is the, the main thrust of the lawsuit.

And so that, that he was disconcerted whether he attended the dinner or not, A, it's not defamatory of her whether he attended dinner; B, she confirmed in -- an article of *The Times* of London said he attended. She told *The Post* when she sent that article everything in it, in it was accurate.

But it really is immaterial whether he attended it or not. He could still be disconcerted, as was Mr. Dearlove, by Flynn's attentions, not her conduct.

And if I might briefly talk about the MSNBC tweets that are, you know, within the statute of limitations, both of

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- them are not actionable either. One is clearly not of and concerning her. If you read the tweet chain, which we've put in as an exhibit, Mr. Nance starts with a Washington Post article about Maria Butina, a Russian who has been charged with being a foreign agent, and the rest of the article -- tweets are all about that. And someone says to him, "Shall we call her a sparrow?" And there is where Mr. Nance impishly says, "The technical term for sexy women agents is a 'Svetlana.' Smart ones are 'Natashas.'" And then the tweet goes on with another picture of Maria Butina and a cartoon of Natasha the spy from Rocky & Bullwinkle. Clearly, referring to a Svetlana is not referring to this Svetlana, and it is more or less a joke and, you know, very -- the casual tweet kind of conversation that you would expect, and it's clearly not about the plaintiff. The other tweet that is in issue again starts with Maria Butina, and there's a lot of tweet conversation back and forth, and again, it refers to -- someone else raises, "Flynn and Lokhova?" And Mr. Nance responds with a two-word tweet, "Very likely."
  - That again is not actionable because it is

- 1 | speculative supposition. That's exactly the language that the
- 2 Fourth Circuit used in the *Biospherics* case and held that that
- 3 | is not an actionable statement of fact. That's clearly
- 4 | nonactionable opinion. Theory, conjecture, surmise is not
- 5 actionable opinion, and in the context of the tweet in
- 6 particular, where as one quote said, it's freewheeling,
- 7 anything goes, and the breezy tone, it's clearly not meant as a
- 8 statement of fact; it's speculation. So these are both
- 9 nonactionable.
- 10 And if I might just add one last point, the party
- 11 here is NBC. Mr. Nance, when they read our first motion to
- 12 dismiss, they amended the complaint to add Mr. Nance.
- 13 Mr. Nance, no summons has been issued to him. He's not
- 14 | currently a party. I'm not here on his behalf. I'm not his
- 15 counsel.
- 16 I will say all the reasons why this is not actionable
- 17 | against NBC is the same -- applies equally to Mr. Nance, but
- 18 he's not present.
- 19 THE COURT: All right.
- 20 MS. HANDMAN: But NBC has two additional argument --
- 21 | well, two additional arguments. One is that they're not
- 22 | vicariously liable for Mr. Nance's personal tweets. It was on
- 23 his own account, not MSNBC's Twitter account, not NBC's Twitter
- 24 account. It made no reference to them. It linked to no
- 25 broadcast, in no way promoted MSNBC or NBC.

It was his personal Twitter feed, and a conversation essentially between him and his followers is how this all came up, and that's sort of the social media equivalent of by the water cooler -- a conversation by the water cooler, which the Fourth Circuit in an excellent opinion by Judge Wilkinson last year, a unanimous opinion, held that that's exactly the kind of talk that you can't expect employers to be policing and proctoring what employees say.

And Mr. Nance is not even an employee. I would add he is a freelancer, a paid contributor, one of over 120 paid contributors on NBC.

You wouldn't expect NBC to be able to keep track of all the social media by all of those contributors, and as Wilkinson said, it would have a -- very draconian restrictions on speech if employers could control these conversations that are not part of their job.

And the final thing I would say for both The Washington Post and, and NBC, we have invoked Virginia's new immunity statute, which applies both to the defamation claim and the tortious interference claim and provides an immunity for matters of public concern, which the plaintiff agrees this matter is of public concern, and the immunity attaches unless the plaintiff can show that it was published with actual or constructive knowledge of falsity or in reckless disregard, so essentially the actual malice standard, and they had not pled

that and they cannot plead it.

If you just take the list of prior publications from reputable publishers, that in and of itself precludes a finding of actual malice as a matter of law is what the D.C. Circuit said in the McFarland case. That's what we have here, a litany of that, and there's nothing really that contradicts the fact that they did not know anything they said was false, for all the reasons that we've said.

And in the few of the -- in the -- they say, well,
David Ignatius decided not to publish that the plaintiff had an
affair with Mr. Flynn. Well, The Washington Post didn't
publish that the plaintiff had an affair with Mr. Flynn. So
there is nothing there to suggest any knowledge of falsity
about anything that they actually published.

And that -- if the Court decides to dismiss, then we'd also ask for fees under that Virginia statute.

THE COURT: All right. Any other -- The Washington

Post is primarily involved in this argument because of the

statute of limitations. I think the only other possibility is

The New York Times if the Court were to find that the hyperlink

brought you within it.

Did you want to respond to that at all?

MS. GREEN: Your Honor, do you want to hear from *The Times* about the article?

THE COURT: If you want to add anything that hasn't

already been argued.

MS. GREEN: Not particularly, Your Honor. I think Your Honor's characterization of the articles and the reasons why they're not actionable is exactly on point.

We've raised three, three points in our papers: that the words themselves don't rise to a defamatory meaning; that they essentially convey the subjective opinions of two unnamed sources; and that as a matter of law, it's not of and concerning Ms. Lokhova.

Taken together and in the context of the article, which was really about an unnamed FBI source's activities which the president had criticized heavily and which were controversial and a matter of very significant public interest, what those activities were, whether they were appropriate or inappropriate, *The Times* in closing, in describing what the source's activities were, mentioned that the source had also had contact with Flynn.

The focus of that reporting, the thrust of that reporting was about the source and about Mr. Flynn. In order to convey the kind of contact that he had had and the kind of concerns that he had conveyed, the article mentioned what the nature of those contacts and concerns were, but those were, frankly, innocuous and boil down to two sentences: that the source was, quote, alarmed by the general's apparent closeness with a Russian woman who was also in attendance, and that the

concern was strong enough that it prompted another person to pass on a warning to the American authorities that Mr. Flynn could be compromised by Russian intelligence according to two other people familiar with the matter.

And as I said, our argument is first that the fact that someone subjectively may have felt alarm or concern does not convey a defamatory meaning about the unnamed women, that Mr. Biss has raised in his opposition an implication argument. We don't believe that the innuendo that he argues for is sustainable based off of those words; and moreover, under Chapin and White in this jurisdiction, there must be some showing that the defendant intended or endorsed the, the interpretation and innuendo that he suggests, that this woman was an agent, that, that she was working for Russian intelligence.

We don't believe that that is sustainable or that *The Times* conveyed that meaning. We would agree that the focus here is on whether or not Mr. Flynn's activities were, were reasonable or appropriate.

Third, that the opinion expressed here, what concerns one person or alarms one person doesn't concern or alarm another, and Mr. Biss has argued that nothing that his client did was, was inappropriate or unprofessional. That may very well be. Based upon her own description of this interaction, based upon the undisputed record of this interaction, it is, I

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think, clear how two people could potentially view it
differently with different contexts, and whether or not that
was appropriately a cause for concern or not is precisely the
kind of relative and subjective opinion that is subject
to protection is not actionable under precedent in this
jurisdiction and elsewhere.
          And lastly, in terms of the "of and concerning" as a
matter of law, the article, aside from saying that there was a
Russian woman who attended the unspecified event, there's no
other information about this person. The New York Times
article does not even convey whether or not the woman was an
academic or associated with Cambridge. It simply identifies
her nationality, which is germane to why, why someone might
have formed some opinion about whether or not Russian
intelligence could have an opportunity to, to compromise Flynn,
and therefore, it is simply not reasonable to say that a reader
would have concluded that that vague allusion was a specific
academic at Cambridge University.
          THE COURT: All right, thank you.
          MS. GREEN: Thank you, Your Honor.
          MR. REED: Your Honor --
          THE COURT: Yes, sir.
          MR. REED. Go ahead.
          MR. BERLIN: I take it -- I'm sorry to interrupt.
take it you would like not to hear from The Wall Street Journal
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- because of the statute of limitations issue?

  THE COURT: I don't need to hear from you.
- 3 MR. BERLIN: I understand.

- MR. REED: Your Honor, Terrance Reed again on behalf
  of the defendant Halper, and I agree with the prior comments,
  and I'd like to focus solely on the issue of *The Post* article
  and to, to point out one additional point, which is that the
  article talks about some unidentified third party observing

  Mr. Halper and Mr. Dearlove at this dinner.
  - It's not a -- that's not a statement by Mr. Halper.

    It's a statement at best of an unidentified third party that he looked across the table and, and had the subjective opinion that Mr. Halper and Mr. Dearlove looked disconcerted.
  - Obviously, we agree that that's just an opinion.

    It's an opinion of a third-party observer, and it's not a statement at all of this defendant. Thank you.
  - THE COURT: All right. All right, Mr. Biss, do you want to respond briefly? Because I have a criminal matter starting in a few minutes.
  - MR. BISS: Yes, Your Honor, just briefly. Judge, the one thing that's overlooked here is the, is the fact that there are allegations in the complaint that these statements are false. Number one, the allegation in *The New York Times* article is that Halper is one of the persons that's identified as the people familiar with the matter. We allege that, and it

becomes, it becomes clear given the context of the rest of the article.

They say, "The concern was strong enough that it prompted another person to pass on a warning to the American authorities that Mr. Flynn could be compromised by Russian intelligence . . . . "

None of that's true. Not a single part of that sentence is true. There was no concern, and that can be proven, provably false. There was no concern expressed by anybody at that February dinner, none. Not a single one.

Nothing was -- nothing prompted anyone to pass on anything to U.S. intelligence.

And all of the statements that are made in *The New York Times* article, in the parts of the MSNBC argument that are within the statute of limitations, for instance, there's an allegation that after May of 2018, an MSNBC employee said -- was laughing and informed the executive producer: "Everyone at the CIA knows Flynn had an affair with Lokhova." So there's allegations there that are defamatory.

The statement in July of 2018 that -- where Mr. Nance refers to Ms. Lokhova as a honey pot, these are, these are words that have incendiary meaning. When you accuse somebody of being a honey pot, that means you accuse them of trying to corrupt an American official.

And then Nance doesn't just, doesn't just respond.

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He says -- when the, when the poster says: "Flynn and
Lokhova?" asking who he's referring to, and he says: "Very
likely," that implies a knowledge of a set of facts that would
connect my client to this honey pot, to being a honey pot in
connection with Flynn.
          It's more than just some amorphous statement. He's
actually -- and he holds himself out as being an intelligence
analyst with 25 years' experience, and he's telling people
based on his experience, it's very likely that she's a honey
pot.
          And, Judge, I would just submit that in opposition,
that's clearly more than just some innocuous statement.
          Then on December 18, the MSNBC also publishes a
statement, again it's on national television: "Within the
intelligence community, the thought was that General Flynn may
have been a turned agent to Russian intelligence."
          The theme throughout these articles is that my client
is Russian intelligence or a Russian official and that she has
gotten close to the director of intelligence, Michael Flynn,
and she's done something that's caused this great alarm and
concern, and the fact is there was no alarm and concern.
          This is a false narrative that was published to the
world and held out to the world for, for -- that injured my
client, and that's really the -- what this case is all about.
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THE COURT: All right.

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               MR. BISS: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: Thank you.
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               Well, obviously, as I started at the beginning, we
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     got this case on Monday, and from the argument, it clearly has
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     significant implications for First Amendment rights, for
     personal rights of individuals who believe that they've been
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     defamed, and we're going to, obviously, want to give it careful
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     attention.
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               I will, though, because I don't want the parties
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     spending resources on discovery at this point, and I'm not sure
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     where Judge Ellis had left this case, but because I'm going to
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     be taking these motions under consideration and it will take a
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     while to get an opinion to you, I'm putting the case on hold.
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     No discovery, no further expense incurred in this case.
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               We'll get an opinion out to you as soon as possible.
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     Thank you.
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               MS. HANDMAN:
                             Thank you, Your Honor.
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               MS. GREEN: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               MR. BISS: Thank you.
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               THE COURT: You're all free to go. We'll call the
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     criminal docket next.
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                               (Which were all the proceedings
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                               had at this time.)
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1	CERTIFICATE OF THE REPORTER	
2	I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript of	
3	the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.	
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5	/s/ Anneliese J. Thomson	
6	Affilellese J. Houson	
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